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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OTTO BRANSTETTER
220 S. ASHLAND BLVD.

Архив
КОМИТЕРНА
№ 102
МОСКВА.

Chicago Ill.
Mar. 12, 1920

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Архив
КОМИТЕРНА

G. Zinovief, President Executive Committee of the
Communist International,
Moscow, Russia.

Dear Comrade:-

The Socialist Party of the United States held
a convention in Chicago, Illinois, commencing August 30,
1919. Two resolutions on International Affiliations
were presented to this convention.

The Majority resolution provided for partici-
pation in the calling of an international conference. The
object of such conference was the formation of a new
International to which delegates should be invited from
the Communist parties of Russia and Germany and from those
Socialist parties in all countries which subscribe to the
principles of the class struggle. The resolution excluded
from participation any party which participates in a govern-
ment coalition with parties of the bourgeoisie.

The Minority resolution provided for direct and
immediate affiliation with the Communist International,
making reservations as to the application of the program
to the United States until such time as a Congress could
be held.

Copies of these resolutions are attached. Both
resolutions were submitted to referendum of the party
membership with the result that the Minority resolution
providing for immediate affiliation with the Communist
International was adopted. I therefore have the honor to
apply to the Executive Committee for recognition of the
Socialist Party of the United States of America and its
admission to the Communist International.

With fraternal greetings and best wishes for the
success of our struggling Russian comrades, I am

Fraternally yours,

Otto Branstetter

Executive Secretary

OB-BHW

MINORITY REPORT

We consider that the Second International ceased to function as an international Socialist body upon the outbreak of the world war.

All efforts to bring together the elements that made up the former International have only added strength to this conviction. The Berne Conference was a notable example of this collapse especially with reference to its failure to take a helpful attitude toward Russia, and its policy of hanging onto the tails of the Peace Conference in Paris and placid acceptance of rebuffs given it by members of that conference, the refusal of Russian passports, for instance.

Any International, to be effective in this crisis, must contain only those elements who take their stand unreservedly upon the basis of the class struggle, and who by their deeds demonstrate that their adherence to this principle is not mere lip loyalty.

When leading Socialists join their national government upon a coalition basis they accept and sanction policies which hinder Socialists and the working class generally from taking full advantage of the opportunities for deep-seated change which the war creates. This makes the workers content with superficial reformist changes which are readily granted by the capitalist class as a means of self-protection from the rising tide of working class revolt.

And when Socialists use the military organization of the master class as a means of crushing the agitation of their more radical comrades they flatly take their position with the counter-revolutionaries whom they serve.

The Second International is dead. We consider that a new International which contains those groups which contributed to the downfall of our former organization must be so weak in its Socialist policy as to be useless.

The Socialist Party of the United States, in principle and in its past history, has always stood with those elements of other countries that remained true to their principles. The manifestos adopted in national convention at St. Louis (1917) and Chicago (1919), as well as Referendum "D" 1919 unequivocally affirm this stand. These parties, the Majority parties of Russia, Italy, Switzerland, Norway, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and growing minorities in every land, are uniting on the basis of the preliminary convocation, at Moscow, of the Third International. As in the past, so in this extreme crisis, we must take our stand with them.

The Socialist Party of the United States, therefore, declares itself in support of the Third (Moscow) International, not so much because it supports the "Moscow" programs and methods, but because:

(a) "Moscow" is doing something which is really challenging to world imperialism.

(b) "Moscow" is threatened by the combined capitalist forces of the world simply because it is proletarian.

(c) Under these circumstances, whatever we may have to say to Moscow afterwards, it is the duty of Socialists to stand by it now because its fall will mean the fall of Socialist republics in Europe, and also the disappearance of Socialist hopes for many years to come.

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adoption by party referendum

G. Zinovief.

Dear Comrade:-

In connection with our formal application for affiliation with the Communist International which accompanies this communication, it is perhaps desirable that I state at some length the position ^{which} ~~of~~ our organization has maintained before, during and since the participation of the United States in the world war. (At the outbreak of the war in Europe, the Socialist Party immediately took the position that it was fundamentally a war for commercial supremacy in which the working class of the various European countries had no interest. We urged the necessity of the American Government remaining neutral, denounced the munition manufacturers for furnishing munitions, and advocated an embargo on all food stuffs in order to starve the belligerents into an early peace. We demanded that our government use its good offices at every opportunity to bring about the cessation of hostilities and set forth as early as May 1915 the basis upon which peace should be made.

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May - 1915 ; The Proclamation of the National Executive Committee, setting forth terms of peace, included the proposals for the abolition of secret diplomacy and the demand for no annexations or punitive indemnities, afterwards honestly adopted and made famous by our Russian comrades and hypocritically included by President Wilson in his fourteen points.

In connection with these efforts, we of course carried on a continuous anti-militarist and anti-imperialist campaign of agitation. When, in spite of our efforts, the American government entered the war, we held an Emergency Convention at St. Louis, April 7th - 14th, 1917, in which we adopted the Declaration and War Program. This ^{declaration} ~~resolution~~ provided for

~~continuous and public~~ -2-

~~our unflinching and unceasing~~ opposition to the war and ~~that~~ the position was maintained to the best of our ability thruout its duration. There were, ~~of course,~~ some elements in our party in this country, as in all others, which became social patriotic and demanded that the Socialist Party support the government in its war measures. I am proud to say that this element in the American Socialist Party was comparatively small and that the St. Louis Resolution was adopted by an overwhelming majority in the referendum vote.

Some more or less prominent comrades, including John Spargo, A. M. Simone, Chas. Ed. Russell, Allan Benson and the Appeal to Reason staff, either withdrew from the Party or were expelled on account of their opposition to the Party's position. The number of those who followed them out of the Party was insignificant and the rank and file of our membership stood unswervingly by the organization and its declarations.

That the National Party officials were as loyal and devoted and steadfast in maintaining the position of the Party, is proven by the fact that the National Executive Secretary, the editor of our official organ, the manager of our Literature Department, ^{and} the Secretary of the Young Peoples Socialist League, were convicted and sentenced to twenty years each under the Espionage Act.

The National Executive Committee at that time consisted of fifteen members. Four members of this committee were convicted and served or are now serving sentence ranging from one to twenty years. Another member, Victor Berger, was convicted along with the four party officials mentioned above and received a sentence of twenty years which is now pending before the Court of Appeals. The executive Secretary was indicted and tried on another charge prior to the trial in which

he was convicted, Comrade Berger has four other indictments against him and still another member of the committee was also indicted.

The number ~~xxxxxxxx~~ of state and local party officials who were convicted thruout the country is proportionately large.

In view of this record and of the published resolutions of the National Executive Committee thruout the war, dealing with both the domestic and foreign situation, accusations that the Socialist Party of the United States was reactionary, chauvinistic or social patriotic, is a deliberate and wilful, ~~sic~~, misrepresentation of the facts. I have the pleasure of enclosing copies of various proclamations and manifestoes adopted by our organization both in convention and by action of the National Executive Committee from August 1914 until the present date.

The Socialist Party of the United States is justly proud of this record. It ~~is the only party in any of the belligerent countries which~~ steadfastly maintained a position in opposition to the war and the policies of its government. In ~~all~~ other countries the Socialist Party was split and the majority factions supported their respective governments while only the minorities were opposed. In the United States, not only was the majority in favor of ~~xxx~~ the true international position, but the entire party was. The few individuals who left the Party on account of our St. Louis Declaration ~~and our attitude following that convention~~ were not of sufficient number or importance to constitute a split. Our Party was solidly united in support of our organization and its declarations. There was no split in the American Socialist Party on account of or during the war. The split in this country

occurred a year after the signing of the armistice, and the seceding ^{or} insurgent elements was largely composed of comrades who had never been affiliated with ^{the} Socialist Party until after the signing of the armistice and of those who, tho affiliated, were conspicuously silent and inactive during the war.

Suffice it to say that the Socialist Party of the United States and its officials, now denounced by the leaders of the Communist and Communist Labor Party, ~~XXX~~ as traitors and reactionaries, is the same party and its officials and leaders are the same men who adopted the St. Louis Declaration and following resolutions and who maintained the active party work and agitation during three years of persecution and black reaction.

I trust that you and other members of your committee and the comrades generally, will take these facts into consideration ~~before passing adverse judgment upon our~~ party. ~~Certainly~~ The record of the Socialist Party of the United States is remarkable for its consistency and revolutionary character. The personal record of its officials from the time we entered the war, until the signing of the armistice, is ~~unquestionable~~ far superior to that of the alleged revolutionary leaders ~~if~~ who sprang into prominence and activity only after the signing of the armistice when ^{presumably} ~~they supposed~~ that there was no particular danger attached to such activities.

The fact that the most prominent and influential leaders in the recent split ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ have fled to ~~safe~~ safety in foreign countries, while their deluded and deserted followers ^{are} ~~were~~ being thrown into jails and penitentiaries by the thousands, is significant of the caliber and

character of those leaders. On the contrary, the leaders of the Socialist Party have been in the forefront of the fight since the beginning. They have not shirked responsibility or its consequences. They have not run away to seek safety for themselves and let the government vent its hatred upon obscure and unknown members. They have made and will continue to make the fight for international socialism ^{openly and with} ~~with unswerving courage~~ *They will continue courageously* and the willingness to endure whatever persecution or punishment they receive for the sake of their principles. *in order to solidify & inspire the movement.* Yours for International Socialism, 0

OB:EL.

Executive Secretary.